

NOV 2 1927

The Classical Weekly

Published weekly, on Monday, except in weeks in which there is a legal or School holiday, from October 1 to May 31, at Barnard College, New York City. Subscription price, \$2.00 per volume.
 Entered as second-class matter, November 18, 1907, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879.
 Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on June 28, 1918.

VOL. XXI, No. 7

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THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN THE POETRY OF HORACE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE RELIGIO OF THE EMPEROR AUGUSTUS¹

Horace was, admittedly, a sceptic. In the words *nulla mihi... religio est*, which he impatiently hurls² at Aristius Fuscus, when the latter refuses to rescue Horace from the bore because it is The Thirtieth Sabbath and he scruples to offend the circumcised Jews, there is more than playfulness. *Parcus deorum cultor et infrequens*, he calls himself in another place³, and, with his tongue in his cheek, he tells us that, after he had witnessed a stroke of lightning from a clear sky, he returned from the philosophy of Epicurus to the ways of religion. Addressing Julius Florus, he enumerates the things which make for happiness or mar it, and, among the latter, mentions⁴,

somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
nocturnos lemures portentaque Thessala...

To be free from superstition in Horace's day was no small accomplishment.

On the journey which Horace, Maeccenas, Vergil, and others took to Brundisium, the party stopped at a place called Gnatia, where a miracle was shown to the distinguished visitors: the priests tried to convince them that incense melted without fire. Horace protests⁵: *credat Iudeaeus Apella, non ego*.

Horace bitterly satirises⁶ the type of man whom the people believed to be good, a man who, while he sacrifices a pig or an ox, cries to Janus and Apollo that all may hear, but in an undervoice prays to Laverna, the goddess of theft, that he may be able to deceive, that he may appear before men as a just and holy man, that his sins and cheatings may be cloaked. Again, he satirizes the old man who runs from shrine to shrine, fasting, with hands ceremonially pure, praying⁷:

... 'unum—
quid tam magnum?' addens—'unum me surpite
morti:
dis etenim facile est!'...

A foreign rite is sneered at⁸, where the mother prays to Jupiter (?) to cure her son of a fever; if the god (i. e. the physician, according to the sceptic Horace) relieves him, she will make the boy stand naked in the Tiber. Horace cynically remarks that, if she does so, the fever will return. He asks (295): *quone malo mentem concussa <mater>?*, and answers, *timore deorum*. The presence of Egyptian devotees of Oriental divinities

¹Horace will be cited from the text-edition of Edward C. Wickham, revised by H. W. Garrod (Oxford Classical Texts Series, 1912).

²*Sermones* 1.9.70-71. ³*Carmina* 1.34.1-5.

⁴*Epistulae* 2.2.208-209.

⁵*Sermones* 1.5.100-101. Pliny (N. H. 2.240) declares that it was wood on the altar which caught fire of itself. <On such 'miracles' see an interesting paper, 'The Abuse of Fire,' by Walton Brooks McDaniel, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 7.121-125, 129-132. C. K. >

⁶*Epistulae* 1.16.57-62.

⁷*Sermones* 2.3.288-292.

ities in Rome is evidenced by Horace's mention⁹ of an impostor, a beggar, who pretends to have a broken leg, and swears by Osiris that he is no cheat. The sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis Horace considers the act of a madman¹⁰.

Horace's disbelief, however, did not prevent his being in sympathy with the rites of the country-folk and joining in the celebration of their religious festivals, for these were attended by practices which were quite after his heart, especially eating and drinking¹¹, and he was only too glad to find in a religious festival an excuse for relaxation. His hatred of one who has betrayed the secrets of religion he reveals when he says¹² that he would not allow one who had disclosed the secret rites of Ceres to stay under the same roof or sail on the same boat with him.

He addresses Phidyle¹³, a farmer's wife, bidding her at each new moon, with palms upturned to the sky, appease the Lares with incense, with the first fruits of the harvest, and with a pig, that flocks and crops may be productive. There is no need of costly sacrifice: to garland the Lares with myrtle and rosemary is enough (see verses 17-20)¹⁴:

immunis aram si tetigit manus,
non sumptuosa blandior hostia
mollivit aversos Penatis
farre pio et saliente mica.

Horace seems in this passage to make no distinction between the Lares and the Penates.

Horace has a religious celebration on March 1¹⁵, the day on which women kept the Matronalia; but for Horace it is the anniversary of his escape from a falling tree. He sets up an altar of fresh earth, and, in fulfillment of his vow, sacrifices a pure white goat to Liber, with offerings of flowers, incense, and wine.

The delightful way the Romans had of peopling all things in nature with spirits, a survival of the period of animism, is reflected in Horace's ode celebrating the Fons Bandusiae¹⁶. Wine, flowers, and the sacrifice of a kid mark this rite. Again, in Carmina 1.1.22, Horace mentions the *aquea lene caput sacrae*.

Horace tells us¹⁷ a pleasing story of his childhood days at Venusia. When he had fallen asleep one day on Mt. Vultur, some doves of Venus covered him with laurel and myrtle, thus protecting him against bears and snakes. His escape (or flight) from Philippi he ascribes to the kind offices of Mercury, who provided a dense cloud for the purpose¹⁸. Again, Horace offers sacred greens, incense, and wine to Venus, and a victim on an improvised altar of turf, forgetting that Venus demanded only bloodless sacrifices¹⁹. He ascribes the pro-

⁸*Epistulae* 1.17.58-61.

⁹*Carmina* 3.28.1-2.

¹⁰*Carmina* 3.23.

¹¹See E. S. McCartney, The Classical Journal 21.123.

¹²*Carmina* 3.8.1-12.

¹³*Carmina* 3.4.9-20. ¹⁴*Carmina* 2.7.13-14.

¹⁵*Carmina* 1.19.13-16.

tection of his Sabine farm to the gods²⁰: *di me tuentur, dis pietas mea et musa cordi est.* . . . With the sacrifice of a boar, Horace dedicates a pine tree to Diana, who, when she has been invoked three times by mothers, saves them from death²¹. To Priapus, the god of gardens, and to Silvanus, a forest spirit and guardian of boundaries, he offers pears and grapes²².

The Neptunalia, which was celebrated on July 23 in the open air, along the banks of the Tiber and the shores of the sea, under booths called *umbrae*, Horace and his housekeeper celebrate at home with wine and amoeboean song offered to Neptune and the Nereids, to Latona, Diana, Venus, and Night²³.

Faunus²⁴, the spirit of the woods, finds sympathetic treatment at the hands of Horace. The passing of winter brings with it the spring festival of Faunus: verdant myrtle and blossoms adorn the hair of the worshipper, and a lamb or a kid is sacrificed²⁵. Faunus is the protector of goats and kids²⁶. The country festival of Faunus, Faunalia Rustica, celebrated on the Nones of December, a festival which does not appear on the Calendars, is described by Horace²⁷. There is a prayer that Faunus may be gracious to Horace's borders and to his flocks; in return for this service, there will be, he declares, sacrifice of a kid, wine, and incense. The countryfolk celebrate the holiday among their flocks in the meadows, with drinking, and dancing in triple time. Faunus, the protector of poets, saved Horace from a falling tree-trunk. In thankfulness for the god's interposition Horace offers up a kid²⁸.

Horace thanks the gods for his Sabine farm; and he prays to Mercury, not for increased wealth, but for the preservation of his present possessions²⁹. Differences in personality are due to differences in the *genii* of the individuals³⁰:

naturae deus humanae, mortalis in unum
quodque caput, vultu mutabilis, albus et ater.

The *genius* was a kind of guardian angel, that was born with each man, died with him, and was worshipped by the ancient farmers with flowers and wine³¹.

The return of Augustus from Spain in 24 B. C. is celebrated with sacrifice, flowers, perfumes, and wine³². The birthday of Horace's friend, Maecenas, is honored with wine, garlands, and the sacrifice of a lamb³³. The return of another friend, Numida, who had been in service in Spain, is celebrated with music, wine, and the sacrifice of a bullock, in the worship of the gods who have brought him safely home³⁴. Jupiter restores Maecenas to health, and so a votive shrine is due to the god³⁵. A banquet, vowed to Jupiter, is held on the return of Pompeius, a fellow-campaigner of Horace at Philippi³⁶. Horace invokes Castor and Pollux to guide safely to Attic shores the ship which carries Vergil³⁷.

²⁰Carmina 1.17.13-14.

²¹Carmina 3.22.

²²Epodi 2.17-22. ²³Carmina 3.28.
²⁴Faunus, originally an indigenous Italian god, had, by the time of Horace, assumed the characteristics of the Greek Pan. See W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, 81 (London, Macmillan, 1911).

²⁵Carmina 1.4.1-12. ²⁶Carmina 1.17.1-12.

²⁷Carmina 3.18. ²⁸Carmina 2.17.27-32. ²⁹Sermones 2.6.4-15.

³⁰Epistulae 2.2.188-189. ³¹Epistulae 2.1.144. ³²Carmina 3.14.

³³Carmina 4.11. ³⁴Carmina 1.36. ³⁵Carmina 2.17.22-31.

³⁶Carmina 2.7.17-20. ³⁷Carmina 1.3.1-8.

Castor and Pollux will guard Horace's ship when he is sailing the Aegean Sea, though, for his protection, he will make no bargains with the gods in the form of vows³⁸. Horace had the habit of stopping to watch fortune-tellers along the streets³⁹.

We have a reflection⁴⁰ of the old Roman family religious custom of taking the auspices from the flight of birds, and of the current superstitions concerning birds and animals of good and ill omen. Horace is bidding farewell to Galatea, who is about to sail for foreign parts. He prays that the *parra*, or a bitch with young, or a tawny she-wolf, or a fox which has just given birth to whelps, or a snake crossing their path may cut short the journey of the wicked; but for Galatea he will stir up a raven from the East, and he prays that no woodpecker on Galatea's left, no stray crow may prevent her departure. The raven as a prophet of rain is mentioned by Horace⁴¹.

Horace has left us two graphic pictures of the workings of witches. In one of these⁴², Priapus, a god of gardens, is represented as relating what he saw take place in the Esquiline burial grounds, which, having been recently acquired by Maecenas, were being converted into gardens. Priapus is not so much perturbed by the thieves and the wild creatures that were accustomed to haunt the place as by the witches who with their charms and their poisons turn folks' heads, and gather bones and harmful grasses at new moon. Priapus, himself, had seen Canidia, barefooted, her hair flowing, her black dress tucked up—along with another witch, Sagana—scratching up the earth for a trench in which to pour the blood of a black lamb which they had torn to pieces with their teeth. The blood was poured into the trench to lure forth the *Manes* for prophecy. The witches had also two images: one of wool, representing the person in whose interest the rites were being performed, and one of wax, which stood suppliantly before the other and represented the person on whom the spell was to be worked. The witches invoked Hecate and Tisiphone; snakes and hounds of Hades wandered around; the *Manes*, rising from the ground, conversed with Sagana in shrieks; the beard of a wolf and the teeth of a mottled snake were laid in the earth; fire melted the waxen image; Priapus, in indignation at these rites, scared away the women, one of whom, in the hurry, left behind her false teeth, the other her wig.

The ancients commonly believed that witches used the entrails of children in plying their art⁴³. Horace gives us a picture of this practice⁴⁴. The poem opens with the cries of a boy who is being spirited away from his home by four witches, among them Canidia, with snakes entwined in her hair. Canidia orders wild fig-trees to be uprooted from the tombs, the eggs and down of the screech owl to be smeared with toad's blood, and poisonous grasses and bones snatched from the maw of a hungry bitch to be consumed in Colchian flames. Sagana sprinkles the house with water from

³⁸Carmina 3.29.57-64.

³⁹Sermones 1.6.114. ⁴⁰Carmina 3.27. See Fowler, *Religious Experience, etc.*, 208-300. ⁴¹Carmina 3.17.12-13. ⁴²Sermones 1.8.

⁴³See Petronius, *Satyricon* 63.3-10. Horace ridicules the belief that witches eat children (*Ars Poetica* 338-340).

⁴⁴Epode 5.

Avernus, and Veia, with her hoe, digs up the earth to bury the boy with only his head protruding, that he may die there of starvation in the sight of food changed again and again during the day. His marrow and his liver are to be cut out and dried as a love-charm. Folia, who by her magic words lures down the stars and the moon, takes part in the rites. Canidia, as she gnaws her long nails, prays to Night and to Diana that the charm she has already used may work on her aged lover, Varus. But some other witch has worked a stronger counter-spell: so Canidia, too, will prepare another. The poem closes with a curse from the boy, who cries that he will, after his death, hound the witches as an avenging spirit⁴⁵.

Again, in a palinode, addressed to Canidia⁴⁶, Horace, in feigned dread, begs for grace from Canidia whose book of spells is potent to call down the stars from heaven. The haunt of the witches is the Esquiline. Canidia causes waxen images to feel, and she can, by her magic words, snatch down the moon from the sky, stir up the ashes of the dead, and mix love philters. In this Epode mention is made of the *turbo* or *rhombus* which witches used in their rites. It consisted of a smooth board which made a whizzing sound when whirled around on a string. The spell thus cast could be broken by whirling the board in the opposite direction⁴⁷.

A reminiscence of childhood association with witches is shown in a well-known passage⁴⁸ which constitutes part of Horace's famous description of his encounter with the bore on the Via Sacra. Though the story is doubtless told to heighten the effect of the satire, it is interesting because it shows that fortune-telling was prevalent in the country districts. Horace, we recall, vainly trying to rid himself of the bore, asks the latter if he has any relatives who are interested in his welfare; if the bore answers 'Yes', Horace will tell him that he is on his way to visit a sick friend who has a contagious disease. The bore, however, answers (27-34): 'I have no one. I have laid them all to rest'. 'Happy they!' replies Horace.

'Now I remain. Finish me. For the sad fate is pressing close upon me which a Sabellian hag, having shaken her holy urn, once prophesied to me when I was a boy: "Hipp! neither dire poison, nor hostile blade will carry off, nor pleurisy, nor cough, nor crippling gout. A garrulous fellow will sometime do him to death. If he be wise, let him avoid the talkative, when once he has grown to manhood".'

There are many casual references to individual divinities and to religious practices, references which are valuable to the student. The ancient custom of rearing a rude altar of turf, a practice which Horace himself followed, is mentioned⁴⁹. We read about the Roman rite *evocatio*, by which the divinity of a hostile city was lured away, that the city, thus unprotected, might fall—a rite performed before Carthage fell⁵⁰. The Romans believed that there was no escape

⁴⁵In Franz Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism*, 130 (Yale University Press, 1922), the belief that spirits, unjustly severed from their bodies, return to haunt their murderers, is discussed, with special reference to this Epode of Horace.

⁴⁶Epode 17. ⁴⁷See Andrew Lang, *Custom and Myth*, 29 (London, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1913). ⁴⁸Sermones 1.9.26-34.

⁴⁹Carmina 2.15.17-18. ⁵⁰Carmina 2.1.25-28.

by sacrifice from a curse:... dira detestatio nulla expiatur victimā⁵¹. Horace mentions the cypress as a sign of mourning⁵²; the practice of having, at funerals, paid mourners⁵³; Libitina, the goddess of death⁵⁴; the *Di Manes*, who have the power to avenge the death of the mortals whose spirits they are⁵⁵; the common belief that Proserpina took a lock from the head of those destined for the underworld⁵⁶; the custom seamen had of keeping small images of gods in the poop of the ship as protectors on the voyage⁵⁷; the practice of dedicating a tablet and hanging up one's garments in the temple of Neptune, when one had escaped shipwreck⁵⁸; the luxury of the dinners of the pontifices⁵⁹ and the Salii⁶⁰; the prevalence of astrologers⁶¹, who came in great numbers after the conquest of the East⁶². In the Satire in which he describes his daily occupations Horace says, *ad sisto divinis*⁶³.

Horace turns apologist, when he says that the reason that men believe in Jupiter is because they can hear his thunder⁶⁴. Jupiter, the sky, as distinguished from Jupiter, the god resident in the sky, is indicated in the words *sub Iove frigido*⁶⁵. Jupiter sends snow and hail upon the earth, and terrifies men with his lightnings, smiting even the sacred heights⁶⁶; it is the wickedness of the Romans which causes Jupiter's acts of vengeance⁶⁷. Minerva is mentioned as the goddess of wifely duties, especially weaving⁶⁸. The swan is sacred to Venus⁶⁹. Bacchus is the god of milk and honey, as well as of wine⁷⁰. Fortuna has a temple and an oracle at Antium: Horace prays that she may be gracious to Caesar, in his expedition against the Britons⁷¹. Spes and Fides have temples at Rome: the priest of Fides has his arm wrapped in white cloth when he sacrifices⁷². Janus is the guardian of peace⁷³. Horace calls upon *pater Matutinus*, or, if the god prefers the name, Janus, to whom men pray before they begin their daily tasks⁷⁴. We see here the ritualistic custom of addressing a divinity by several names, in order that at least one shall be acceptable. Similarly, in the Carmen Saeculare (15-16), Diana is invoked as Ilithyia, or Lucina, or Genitalis. The Regia and the Temple of Vesta are specifically mentioned, probably because about these buildings clustered the earliest religious traditions of the people. Mention is made of Cybele, with her orgiastic rites⁷⁵. Tellus was appeased by the farmers in ancient days with a hog, and Silvanus with milk⁷⁶. Bellona, an Italian war divinity, identified with the Cappadocian Ma, is mentioned as one who rejoices in blood⁷⁷. Horace frequently uses the word *deus* to express the power which is at work in the universe⁷⁸, showing that thinking Romans had some

⁵¹Epodi 5.80-90.

⁵²Carmina 2.14.23. ⁵³Ars Poetica 431. ⁵⁴Carmina 3.30.7. ⁵⁵Carmina 1.28.19-20. Compare Vergil, Aeneid 4.698-699.

⁵⁶Carmina 1.14.10. ⁵⁷Carmina 1.5.13-16. ⁵⁸Carmina 2.14.25-28. ⁵⁹Carmina 1.37.1-4. ⁶⁰Carmina 1.11.1-3.

⁶¹Sermones 1.6.114. Compare Cumont, *After life in Roman Paganism*, 164.

⁶²Sermones 1.6.114. ⁶³Carmina 3.5.1-2. ⁶⁴Carmina 1.1.25.

⁶⁵Carmina 1.2.1-5. ⁶⁶Carmina 1.3.39-40. ⁶⁷Carmina 3.12.4-5.

⁶⁸Carmina 3.28.15. ⁶⁹Carmina 2.19.9-12. ⁷⁰Carmina 1.35.1.

⁷¹Carmina 1.35.21-24. ⁷²Epistulae 2.1.255.

⁷³Sermones 2.6.20-23. ⁷⁴Carmina 1.16.5-8.

⁷⁵Epistulae 2.1.143-144.

⁷⁶Sermones 2.3.223. ⁷⁷Carmina 1.18.3, 1.34.13, 3.16.43, 3.29.30; Epodi 13.7; Epistulae 1.11.22, 1.16.78.

conception of a single force, which we designate by the word 'god'. As personified, this *deus* is, of course, Jupiter.

Many of the Odes, celebrating religious themes, are closely connected with Augustus personally, and with the religious revival he sought to bring about. Augustus aimed to raise the standard of morality, using religion as his tool. Horace laments⁷⁹ the decay of religion and the consequent degeneracy of the times. The Romans are to expiate the sins of their sires (2-4):

...donec tempa <refecerint>
aedesque labentis deorum et
foeda nigro simulacra fumo.

Horace protests against the prevalence of sacrilege at Rome⁸⁰:

...unde manum iuventus
metu deorum continuuit? quibus
pepercit aris?...

The ancient temples were falling into decay in Horace's time⁸¹.

Horace declares⁸² his loyalty to Augustus, and reviews the portents which followed the announcement that Augustus intended to surrender his headship of the State. Horace asks what gods should be invoked to aid his disintegrating home-land. The gods which Horace suggests are determined by his allegiance to Augustus: Apollo, the Emperor's patron divinity; Venus, the ancestor of the Julian line; Mars, the father of the Romans; Augustus, himself, Mercury incarnate. Horace celebrates the blessings of Augustus's rule⁸³, adding that the farmer, after his day's work, returns home to his wine, and invokes Augustus, along with his home gods. That altars were raised to Augustus during his lifetime is certain⁸⁴; but they were used only for the taking of oaths, for Augustus discouraged his deification.

On the occasion of the dedication of the Temple of Apollo, October 24, 28 B. C., Horace composed an Ode⁸⁵ in commemoration of the event. In this Ode he petitions Apollo, not for wealth, but for contentment with what he has, for a sturdy mind and body, and for an old age not devoid of honor and song. Another Ode (1.21) is a forerunner of the Carmen Saeculare. It seems to be a study for a secular hymn for the proposed celebration of 23 B. C., and contains an address to girls to sing of Diana, and to boys to sing of Apollo; in return for this worship, Apollo will ward off war, dearth, and pestilence from the Romans and their *princeps*.

At the request of Augustus, Horace composed the Carmen Saeculare, which was sung, on the third day of the religious revival of 14 B. C., by twenty-seven boys and a like number of girls, first at the Temple of Apollo, then at the Capitol⁸⁶. The hymn opens with a petition to Phoebus and Diana to answer the prayers

⁷⁹Carmina 3.6. ⁸⁰Carmina 1.35-36-38. ⁸¹Sermones 2.2.103-104.

⁸²Carmina 1.2. ⁸³Carmina 4.5.

⁸⁴Epistulae 2.1.16. ⁸⁵Carmina 1.31.

⁸⁶For the mode of performing the Carmen Saeculare, and the places where it was performed, see my account of the views of W. Ward Fowler, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.148. See also Walter Dennison, The Movements of the Chorus Chanting the Carmen Saeculare of Horace, University of Michigan Studies, I (1904), 49-66; Rodolfo Lanciani; The Pageant at Rome in the year 17 B. C., The Atlantic Monthly 69 (1892), 145-153, especially 152-153. C. K. >

of the youthful singers. The Sibylline Oracles have commanded that the boys and the girls shall sing a hymn to the divinities of the Romans. Apollo, as the Sun, is invoked that he may behold nothing greater than Rome, Diana, as Lucina, the goddess of childbirth (a function belonging primarily to Juno), is invoked that she may protect mothers with child, and may aid the laws passed by Augustus to encourage marriage. The Parcae, to whom sacrifice was made on the first night of the festival, are asked to add happy fates to those already gone. Tellus (Terra Mater), who received offerings on the third night, is bidden to make the crops productive. Apollo and Diana are again invoked in a kind of interlude. Then follows a prayer to the gods in general, to grant, to the young, upright morals, to the old, repose, to the Roman people, wealth, descendants, and renown. Horace recalls the accomplishments of Augustus, and the return of the old-fashioned virtues. A wish ensues that Phoebus, the god of augury, the great physician, as he beholds the altars on the Palatine, may prolong the prosperity of the Romans for another hundred years, and that Diana may hear the pleas of the quindecimvirs and those of the youthful singers, who will return home with the hope that their prayers will be answered by Jupiter and all the other gods.

It is not my purpose to discuss the religious revival supported by Augustus; but it may not be out of place, in view of the friendship existing between Augustus and Horace, to conclude this paper with some consideration of the *religio* of the Emperor who inspired much of the religious verse of Horace.

From the Roman viewpoint, Augustus was intensely religious: he was scrupulous in performing the rites of the State religion, especially those which had the authority of antiquity; he had regard for such foreign religions as were time-honored and firmly established (for other exotic cults he had scant respect or downright contempt); he was superstitious (in the modern sense of that term) to a degree almost unbelievable in one of his culture. As a boy, Augustus was a member of the *sacerdotum pontificatus*⁸⁷. Augustus records, in his autobiographical inscription⁸⁸, that never before had there been such crowds at any election as at his own election as Pontifex Maximus after the death of Lepidus. Instead of living in the Regia, the official residence of the Pontifex Maximus, Augustus converted a part of his palace on the Palatine into a new Temple of Vesta, and thus overcame the scruple which required him to live near the Temple of Vesta⁸⁹. Besides holding the office of Pontifex Maximus, Augustus had been augur. He had, also, been one of the priesthood to whose care were intrusted the Sibylline Books, one of the college of priests who had charge of the sacrificial feasts, a Frater Arvalis, one of the Titii Sodales, and a Feticialis⁹⁰.

⁸⁷Velleius 2.59.3.

⁸⁸Res Gestae Divi Augusti (Monumentum Ancyranum) 2.10. The inscription may be most conveniently studied in the edition by Ernst Diehl (Vierte Auflage, Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1925). For a review of the edition by E. G. Hardy see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 18.178-179. For comments on the translation of the Monumentum Ancyranum by Professor F. W. Shipley, see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 18.160-170. C. K. >

⁸⁹Ovid, Pasti 4.949-952. ⁹⁰Res Gestae Divi Augusti 1.7.

One of the first acts of Augustus, on assuming the office of Pontifex Maximus, was to gather together such of the oracular writings as were anonymous, or under names of small note, and to burn them—two thousand in all. Of the Sibylline Books he made a selection, placing them in gilded caskets, beneath the statue of Apollo on the Palatine⁹⁰. He increased the number of the priests, giving more privileges to them, especially to the Vestals, to whom were assigned special seats at the gladiatorial contests, opposite the praetor's tribunal⁹¹. It is interesting to note, in passing, that Augustus entrusted his will to these priestesses⁹². Augustus revived the office of Flamen Dialis, and ancient rites such as the Salutis Augurium, the Lupercalia, the Ludi Saeculares, and the Compitalia. At the Lupercalia he forbade unshaven youths to take part in the ceremonial running around the Palatine⁹³. He celebrated the religious holidays with spirit. At the Saturnalia he used to give presents: clothing, gold and silver coins; sometimes, when he was in the humor, he would give merely hair, cloth, sponges, pokers, or tongs⁹⁴. One whole day of the Quinquatrus he consecrated to dice-playing⁹⁵. Once, while he was sacrificing at Perusia, he was unable to get favorable signs, and ordered new victims to be brought. In the midst of the sacrifice, the enemy made an unexpected sortie, carrying off the equipment of the sacrifice. The haruspices declared that the unfavorable signs of the sacrifice would react to the harm of the enemy, since they had the *exta* in their possession; and so it turned out⁹⁶. We know that it was the custom of Augustus to register vows before battles, and to perform them when victory was won⁹⁷. The Senate decreed thanksgivings to the gods fifty-five times for victories of Augustus or his generals⁹⁸. On his return from Syria in 19 B. C., the Senate consecrated an altar to Fortune. The Pontifices and the Vestals were ordered to celebrate the day every year with sacrifice, and the name Augustalia was given to the day⁹⁹. Again, on Augustus's return from Spain and Gaul, the Senate ordered an altar to Pax Augusta to be raised in the Campus Martius, at which, every year, priests and magistrates were to offer sacrifices¹⁰⁰.

During his principate, the doors of the symbolic gate of Janus Quirinus, in the Forum, were closed three times¹⁰¹. Augustus was active in building and restoring temples. He gives us a list of these in his inscriptional autobiography¹⁰². He often gave magnificent gifts to the temples. We read that Augustus consecrated gifts amounting to one hundred million sesterces out of the spoils of war, in the Capitoline Temple, in the Temple of the deified Julius, and in the Temples of Apollo, Vesta, and Mars Ultor. About eighty silver statues of Augustus had been set up in the city. These he took down, and out of the money minted from them he set up golden gifts in the Temple of Apollo (in his own

home!)¹⁰³. Tacitus says¹⁰⁴ that Augustus claimed equal worship with that rendered to the gods, and adds that temples and statues were erected to Augustus, but says nothing about his taking them down. We know that he allowed images of himself to be placed between those of the gods¹⁰⁵. Among the gifts of Augustus to Jupiter Capitolinus¹⁰⁶ were sixteen thousand pounds of gold, with pearls and other gems. Each year, small coins were cast into the Lacus Curtius, in payment of a vow for the safety of Augustus, and, on January 1, coins were brought to the Capitol, and statues of the gods were bought with them¹⁰⁷. It was decreed that vows should be offered for Augustus's health, every fifth year, by the consuls and the priests¹⁰⁸. His name was inserted in the hymn of the Salii, by a decree of the Senate¹⁰⁹. Augustus himself writes¹¹⁰ that all citizens, publicly and in private, offered sacrifice at the shrines for his welfare. After the Emperor's death, a temple and religious worship were decreed for him¹¹¹. After the defeat of the barbarians in Germany, Germanicus placed an inscription on the trophy of arms, dedicating it to Mars, Jupiter, and Augustus¹¹². All these facts point to the tendency to regard Augustus as a god, an idea not difficult for a Roman, who, every year, offered prayer and sacrifice to his own *genius*.

Augustus was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries at Athens¹¹³; and he always held that religion in the highest reverence.

According to Suetonius¹¹⁴, Augustus's superstitions were legion. He was especially fearful of thunder and lightning, and always carried about with him a seal-skin, as a protection against lightning, and, on the approach of a thunderstorm, he would hide in a kind of storm cellar. His fear of lightning arose from the fact that, while he was marching by night on his expedition against the Cantabrians, lightning killed one of his torch-bearers, and just missed striking the Emperor himself. Because of this escape, he consecrated a temple to Jupiter Tonans¹¹⁵. The first letter of his name, Caesar, inscribed on one of his statues, was melted by a lightning stroke. This circumstance was interpreted to mean that he would live for a hundred days thereafter, as the letter C indicated 100, and that he would become a god, because *aesar*, in the Etruscan language, meant 'god'¹¹⁶. He held it a bad sign if his shoes were put on the wrong way in the morning; a slight rain before he went on a journey he considered a good omen; a palm tree which grew up between the cracks in the pavement before his house he transplanted, placing it in the inner court of his house, beside his Penates; an ancient oak on the island of Caprae, which had fallen into decay, grew strong again on Augustus's arrival. Because of this, he arranged with the people of Naples to give him the island in exchange for Aenaria. He would never go on a journey on the day after the *nundinae*, and he would not

⁹⁰Suetonius, *Augustus* 31.1. ⁹¹Ibidem, 31.3.

⁹²Tacitus, *Annales* 1.8. ⁹³Suetonius, *Augustus* 31.3-4.

⁹⁴Ibidem, 75. ⁹⁵Ibidem, 71.3. ⁹⁶Ibidem, 96.2.

⁹⁷Res Gestae Divi Augusti, 1.4. Compare also Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.714-716.

⁹⁸Res Gestae Divi Augusti 1.4. ⁹⁹Ibidem, 2.11. ¹⁰⁰Ibidem, 2.12.

¹⁰¹Ibidem, 2.13. ¹⁰²Ibidem, 4.19.

¹⁰³Res Gestae Divi Augusti 4.24. ¹⁰⁴Tacitus, *Annales* 1.10.

¹⁰⁵Ibidem, 1.11; 2.22; 2.41; 3.64. ¹⁰⁶Suetonius, *Augustus* 52.

¹⁰⁷Ibidem, 57.1. ¹⁰⁸Res Gestae Divi Augusti 2.9.

¹⁰⁹Ibidem, 2.10. ¹¹⁰Ibidem, 2.9. ¹¹¹Tacitus, *Annales* 1.11.

¹¹²Ibidem, 2.22. ¹¹³Suetonius, *Augustus* 93.

¹¹⁴Ibidem, 90. ¹¹⁵Ibidem, 29.3. ¹¹⁶Ibidem, 97.2.

transact important business on the Nones, because the name resembled *Non is*, 'You do not go'¹¹⁷.

Even as a young man, Augustus reposed faith in astrologers. While he was at Apollonia, he and Agrippa visited the astrologer Theogenes, who promised Agrippa a brilliant career. Augustus, at first, was loath to reveal his birthday, fearing that Theogenes might prophesy for him a less brilliant career. Finally, however, he was prevailed upon to reveal it, and Theogenes then worshipped him as a god¹¹⁸.

Augustus believed, as did Romans generally, in the prophetic significance of dreams, both his own and those of his friends. At Philippi, he was warned by the dream of a friend to leave his tent, and only after much hesitation was he prevailed upon to do so, for he was ill. It was lucky that he followed his friend's advice, for the enemy entered that part of the camp where his litter was, and he would have been stabbed to death¹¹⁹. Suetonius tells us¹²⁰ that, prompted by a dream, Augustus every year on a certain day begged from the people with outstretched hand as if he were a common beggar.

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REVIEW

M. Annaci Lucani Belli Civilis Libri Decem. Editorum in Usum Edidit A. E. Housman. Oxford: Basil Blackwell (1926). Pp. xxxvi + 342.

On the 'jacket' of Professor Housman's edition of Lucan it is stated that the work resembles its author's edition of Juvenal, but that it differs from it in two important respects.

... It provides no new knowledge of MSS., none being requisite, but only controverts prevalent views of their relationships and ancestry. On the other hand, it allots much more space to interpretation, and in this field it recalls attention to the older commentators and particularly to the scholiasts. The corrections of the text consist largely in changes of its punctuation.

In examining this edition, therefore, the student of Lucan will, perhaps, turn first of all to matters of interpretation. On 8.779 there is a very interesting note:

aurorae praemissa dies, ea dies quae auroram ipsam praecedit. rem significat Latino nomine carentem sed sibi ex uaria Stoicorum doctrina cognitam 'the false dawn'. Edward Fitz Gerald ad Omari stropham 2 'subhi kāsib', a transient light on the horizon about an hour before the *subhi sādik* or true dawn; a well-known phenomenon in the East'; Wilfred Blunt diar. I p. 17 'from my bed (in Aegypto) I can see the first glimmer of the false dawn, which makes the owls hoot and the jackals cry. Then, with the real dawn, crows begin to pass overhead'

The note on 6.468-469, *nimbosque solutis excussere comis*, shows the same wealth of illustration from varied sources.

469 *comis*, 'uelut comas enim habent nimbi', a, quam admonitionem editores spreuerunt. Pindarus paean. VI 137-9..., Charlotte Brontë, Shirley cap.

¹¹⁷Suetonius, Augustus 92.1-2. ¹¹⁸Ibidem, 94.12.

¹¹⁹Ibidem, 91.1. ¹²⁰Ibidem, 91.2.

II, 'the low-hanging, dishevelled tresses of a cloud', et splendido furto Alexander Smith, A Life-Drama sc. x, 'she covered me with her wild sorrow, as an April cloud with dim dishevelled tresses hides the hill on which its heart is breaking'

A simpler example is the note on 3.215 *ventosa Damascos*. Professor Housman quotes the explanations of a and c¹. The latter runs thus:

quorum ut neutri credi posse appetat (praesertim cum apud Arabas diuersa urbis laus sit, 'le vent des vergers y est sain, quoique faible'), ita uere anni 1919 uentosam Damascum fuisse ex militibus ibi stipendia meritis cognoui

The note on 3.126-127, *Crassumque in bella secutae saeva tribuniciae voverunt proelia dirae*², may be chosen almost at random as an example of the abundance of classical parallels quoted:

clades ad Carrhas accepta eo incidunt quia eam uoerunt, hoc est imprecatae sunt, Atei Capitonis execrationes, quae non illico euauerunt sed imperatore proficiscentem secutae sunt, quod dirae *uouisse* dicuntur (id quod diras precatus fecit tribunus), similia sunt Ouid. Ib. 93 sq. *fictum execraria nomen uota*, Soph. O. C. 658. . . . *saeua improspera sunt*, ut Tac. ann. II 5 2 *quaesib... belligeranti saeva uel prospera enenissent*, Cic. ap. Amm. Marc. XV 5 23 *cum ex saeuis et perditis rebus ad meliorem statum fortuna reuocatur*

For an example of a different kind of explanatory note take that on 6.220-223:

Pannonis haud aliter post ictum saevior ursa, cum iaculum parva Libys ammentavit habena, se rotat in volnus telumque irata receptum inpetit et secum fugientem circumcit hastam.

The note runs thus:

locus ubi Pannonis ursa et uenator Libys una consistant amphitheatum est Romanum, uideratque poeta quae describit.

A favorite passage for detractors of Lucan is 9. 946-947:

quanta dedit miseris melioris gaudia terrae
cum primum saevos contra videre leones!

Mr. W. E. Heitland³ (Introduction, lxxviii) includes it among the worst examples of hyperbole: "...After the region of serpents, Cato's men are cheered by the sight of lions..." Professor Housman says: "...acumen sententiae, in qua uarie aberratum est, nemo <vidit>. nempe leones, formidulosissimum animalium genus, cum gaudio uiderunt, utpote serpentibus meliores

But Mr. C. E. Haskins ad locum had already written, "...the sight of lions showed that there was vegetation to feed their prey", which is surely right, though an admirer of Lucan may admit that he doubtless enjoyed the effect of the surprise.

On 5.59 Professor Housman has a note on the spel-

¹The symbols a and c refer to collections of notes found in certain manuscripts. C. K. >

²In his text, as in his notes, Professor Housman always writes a for both a and v. THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY declines to follow him in this, except, of course, in reproducing *verbatim et litteratim* a passage from his notes. Since Professor Housman never shows the slightest mercy to any one, I have no hesitation in condemning, most sharply, the absurd way in which he prints his notes. His lack of punctuation, his queer avoidance of capitals in titles of books, and his weird way of making references to classical authors or to modern articles combine to make his notes to me a nightmare. The pain of extracting the gold from his notes almost makes the gold worthless. C. K. >

³Messrs. Heitland and Haskins edited the *Pharsalia*, with notes, in 1887 (London, George Bell and Sons).

ling, *Ptolemaee*, which is too long to quote, but which perhaps should be referred to, as Mr. A. Souter, in a review⁴ of Professor Mountford's Quotations from Classical Authors in Medieval Latin Glossaries, inquires if this spelling is a slip of the editor.

Not very many conjectural readings are provided by Professor Housman in his text. In Pompey's dream, at 7.20, he has *anxia mens curis*, after Bentley, instead of *anxia venturis* of the MSS., but here *mens* was read by c. At 5.137, he prints Burmann's *fari* for *fati* of all MSS. (here he follows Hosius⁵). The reading *rex tolletque* at the beginning of 8.345 for *extolletque* of the MSS. is at least a great improvement to the sense. Professor Housman's note runs thus:

huic sententiae et uerbis *horruit uidit extollet exigit deest subiectum*; nam quod a *Parthus* audiri iubet, antecessit plurale *Parthorum*; neque in gentem quadrant quae dicuntur, praesertim 348 sq., sed in solum regem, uitium senserunt et remouere conati sunt qui uersu 341 *quem in qui* mutabant, quod **U** in margine habet agnoscitque a.

In five instances Professor Housman inserts in the text verses written by himself (printed in italics). He says (Introduction, xxvi):

That spurious verses are present in the tradition common to all manuscripts is not willingly granted; but even less willingly is it granted that genuine verses are missing. Yet it would be strange if they were not. The causes which have filched as many as 120 genuine verses from one or other of our six manuscripts are not causes which came into operation late or began to exist at a certain epoch: they are inherent in the very essence of transcription. There are several places where difficulties, recognised or unrecognised, are more simply and satisfactorily removed by the assumption that a verse has perished than by alterations of the words and letters remaining in the text. This assumption I have accordingly made at II 703, V 535, IX 674, X 122, 473 . . .

There is not space to quote all of these with their contexts. To the present reviewer it seems unjustifiable to print such lines in the text, and, moreover, that only in the last case does the context really suggest that a line has fallen out. The lines in question (10. 471-474) follow:

sed neque ius mundi valuit nec foedera sancta gentibus, orator regis pacisque sequester *quin caderer ferro. quamquam quis talia facta aestimat in numero scelerum ponenda tuorum, tot monstris Aegypte nocens? non Thessala tellus vastaque regna Iubae, non Pontus et inopia signa. . . .*

The commas regularly inserted by Professor Housman round vocatives are here omitted. The note runs as follows:

inter 472 et 473 aliquid excidisse sensit Grotius, in quibus neque quid legato acciderit dicitur neque quae res in scelerum Aegyptiorum numero uel ponenda uel non ponenda sit. ille occidisse dicendus erat, id autem facinus, quod apud alias gentes maximum est scelus, inter Aegypti scelera minimum esse; qualem sententiam reposui.

The famous passage 2.290-292 Professor Housman prints thus:

quis, cum ruat arduus aether,
terra labet mixto coeuntis pondere mundi,
complossas tenuisse manus?

⁴The Classical Review 40 (1926), 85.

He writes the following note:

completas M, complossas Z, compressas Ω^6 et edd. plerique, non apte, compressas enim manus tenet qui opem ferre potest nec uult. *complas* participium, ut Lucr. I 140 *spelata* (quam spero) sine praeteriti temporis notatione ponitur, ut sit *complas* manum *tenuisse*, id est cohibuisse, abstinuisse a manibus complendis, repererunt Grot. Hos. Franck.

Here no doubt the principle of the *difficilior lectio* operates. In the Introduction, xviii-xxvi, Professor Housman deals with the omission of genuine verses in one or more of the MSS., and the intrusion of spurious verses. He says (xix):

In such consideration there is an initial precaution to be taken. About two-fifths of the omissions are explicable by the palaeographical causes of homoeoleton, homoearchon, and what I may call homoeomeson, similarity within the verse. In enquiring whether an omitted verse is genuine or spurious it must be laid down as a principle that omission which can be assigned to any palaeographical cause affords no reason for suspecting the verse omitted. And further, when two or more manuscripts agree in an omission which can be thus explained, it does not necessarily follow that the omission is derived from any common source of those manuscripts: the palaeographical cause is universally operative, and manuscripts not akin to one another may independently be affected by it.

In Professor Housman's judgment only 8 of the omitted verses are spurious, as opposed to 16 ejected by Hosius. He expels some verses as spurious though they are presented by all MSS., and retained by editors. Of these 7.388 may be taken as an example. The passage as usually printed follows (7.387-389):

hae facient dextrae, quidquid non expletat aetas
illa nec humanum reparet genus omnibus annis
ut uacet a ferro.

After dealing with the very unsatisfactory sense of the passage, Professor Housman says (xxiv):

The verse 388 was inserted by a reader who had before him

hae facient dextrae, quidquid non expletat aetas,
ut uacet a ferro,
and who thought *aetas* insufficient, as indeed it was: *omnibus annis* he borrowed from 421 or 426, and *illa nec* perhaps from 321. But instead of *expletat* the lemma of the comm. Bern., which also at II 263, IX 648, 973, X 312 preserves what Ω have corrupted, gives *explicat*; and from this the truth can be restored by less than the change of a letter. *e* is written not merely for the diphthong *ae* but also for *a* and *e* when they are two syllables, as in *Pasiphe* for *Pasiphae*, and even when they are not parts of the same word. Thus in Liu. xxvi 18 2 **P** has *cur erat* for *cura erat*, in Man. IV 476 **L² M** have *non et* for *nona et*, and here the reading latent is

hae facient dextrae, quidquid nona explicat aetas,
ut uacet a ferro;

'these hands will bring to pass that, whatever the ninth century unfolds, it shall be free from warfare'. The metaphor, as in VII 201 sq. 'dissimilem certe cunctis, quos explicat, egit Thessalicam natura diem', is the unrolling of a scroll. The eighth century of the city had been closed with secular games by Claudius when Lucan was a boy; he was now living in the ninth, and it is that century's lack of men which he depicts in 391-407, concluding 'Pharsalia tanti causa mali'. From war at least, says he, it will be free, because the men

⁵ Ω indicates the consensus of a group of six or more manuscripts.

who might have fought were never born, and those who might have been their forefathers were slain at Pharsalia⁶. Juvenal XIII 28, about A. D. 128, writes *nona* (al. *non*, al. *nunc*) *aetas agitur*, and Censorinus de d. nat. 17 15, in A. D. 238, says that this year is *in decimo saeculo*. The words *aevi uenientis in orbem* in 390 will now mean 'the next age', and the *tunc* of 391 will have something definite to refer to: this was lacking so long as those words appeared to signify futurity, and Bentley wished to substitute *quin*....

Here the case for the expulsion of 388 seems plausibly made out.

On page xxix Professor Housman says:

At least a dozen emendations in the text of Lucan have been afterwards confirmed by the discovery or collation of manuscripts....

In his "Addendum" (338) he furnishes a fresh instance.

In his text he prints 2.594 as

Armenios Cilicasque feros Taurumque subegi: He thus substitutes *feros* for *tauros* of Ω. In so doing he depends (page 53) on the testimony of a: ... *Taurum legisse uidetur a*, 'Taurus mons in Cilicia; pro hominibus autem posuit montis nomen'. Tauros, gentem longe a Cilicibus remotam, Pompeius non subeggerat

The "Addendum" reads:

II 594 iudicium meum confirmant saeculo IX scripti codices libri glossarum CI 117 'Cilicia prouincia iuxta Taurum montem est. Lucanus *Taurumque subegit*, id est gentes Ciliciae a Tauro monte', quam lectionem protulit I. F. Mountfordius, Quotations from classical authors in medieval glossaries 1925, p. 66. accedit igitur hic locus et eis quos p. ix II, 19 sqq. et eis quos p. xxix II, 13 sqq. enumeraui

In the account of his predecessors (xxx-xxxv) Professor Housman pays a tribute to Farnaby (xxx):

This <the text of Grotius> was soon provided with a worthy commentary by the excellent and indefatigable Farnaby, the educator of his age, whose editions were the favourite reading of the seventeenth century and whose name is not to be found in Sandys' history of classical scholarship. It first appeared in 1618 and was often reprinted at home and abroad in the next hundred years. His chief aim is historical illustration, but grammatical interpretation is not neglected; he makes free use of his predecessors but is no mere compiler; the notes, while full of matter, are succinct and practical, and the poem has even now no better commentary.

The title of Lucan's poem is not discussed by Professor Housman, but on 9.985-986,

<Why "Pharsalia"? Num hoc in usum editorum scriptum est?
C. K. >

venturi me teque legent; Pharsalia nostra vivet, et a nullo tenebris damnabimur aevo.,

Professor Housman comments thus:

Pharsalia nostra, proelium a te gestum, a me scriptum. hoc interpres fugisse nihil mirum, quorum unus et alter te legent ad Caesaris commentarios referunt 986 **damnabimur** (scilicet ego et tu)....

For this sense of *te legent* it might be worth while to compare Horace, Carmina 2.1.21 *audire magnos iam videor duces*.

Enough, perhaps, has been given to show the value of this new edition of Lucan, surely long overdue. It is to be hoped that it may have its share in restoring Lucan to the place he held so long, a place only a little below Vergil, with many ready to assert his superiority in this or that particular. An age like ours, in which exaggeration and hyperbole play so great a part in the writing not merely of newspapers and 'best sellers', but of works of real literary merit, would enjoy Lucan if only it had enough Latin to read him! Almost everything for which Lucan is blamed can be paralleled in the great masters, e. g. the catalogue of snakes in Book 9 is imitated by Dante (usually treated as above criticism!) in the Inferno, Canto XXIV, presumably because he admired it! Another tribute of quite another kind is to be found in the fact that "when all the other *Classics* were published for the use of the *Dauphin*, *Lucan* alone was prohibited"⁷. It is not fair to class Vergil, who died so near the beginning of the Augustan Age, with the court poets who have written at so many periods both before and since; but there is no doubt that many haters of tyranny have so classed him, while they have found among Lucan's *sententiae* weapons for their armory. The reference in 10. 26-28 to Alexander the Great will serve as an example:

non utile mundo
editus exemplum, terras tot posse sub uno
esse viro.

Lines like these account for the admiration of ardent Republicans; Shelley's esteem for Lucan is well known.

It remains to add that the book in appearance leaves nothing to be desired. I have noted only two or three misprints⁸.

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⁶So James Welwood, in his Preface (xliv) to Lucan's *Pharsalia*, translated into English verse by Nicolas Rowe (London, 1720).

⁷A second edition of Professor Housman's book has appeared.

It virtually, however, reproduces the first edition. C. K. >